

HART-TEETER  
1724 Connecticut Avenue, NW  
Washington, DC 20009  
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Interviews: 1006 Respondents  
Dates: July 24-27, 1993

47 Male  
53 Female  
**[5]**

**FINAL**

Study #4040  
NBC News/WSJ  
July 1993

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<b>[6]</b>	<b>[8]</b>	<b>[9]</b>	<b>[12]</b>		<b>[13]</b>	<b>[14]</b>
<b>]</b>		<b>]</b>			<b>]</b>	<b>3</b>

Hello, my name is \_\_\_\_\_ and I'm calling from Hart-Teeter for NBC News and *The Wall Street Journal*. We're conducting a confidential poll of public opinion across the country. Of the people living in your household who are at least 18 years old, including those who are not home right now, can you tell me who has had the most recent birthday? (IF PERSON DOESN'T KNOW ALL THE BIRTHDAYS, SAY:) Well, of the ones you do know, who has had the last birthday? May I speak to that person please? (IF PERSON WITH MOST RECENT BIRTHDAY IS NOT HOME, FIND OUT WHEN HE/SHE WILL RETURN AND MAKE AN APPOINTMENT TO CALL BACK.)

(IF RESPONDENT INDICATES THAT HE/SHE IS THE ONE WITH THE MOST RECENT BIRTHDAY, SAY:) Here is my first question. (PROCEED IMMEDIATELY TO QUESTION #1--DO NOT PAUSE.)

(IF RESPONDENT INDICATES THAT HE/SHE IS NOT THE ONE TO HAVE THE MOST RECENT BIRTHDAY, ASK TO SPEAK TO THE PERSON WHO DID. AFTER RESPONDENT COMES TO THE PHONE, SAY:)

Hello, my name is \_\_\_\_\_ and I'm calling from Hart-Teeter for NBC News and *The Wall Street Journal*. We're conducting a confidential poll of public opinion across the country. Are you at least 18 years old and the person with the most recent birthday of all the adults living in this household? (IF "YES," SAY:) Here is my first question. (PROCEED IMMEDIATELY TO QUESTION #1--DO NOT PAUSE.)

1. Are you currently registered to vote in the precinct or election district where you now live, or haven't you had a chance to register yet?

Registered .....	8	<b>[15]</b>
	0	<b>]</b>
Not registered.....	2	
	0	
Not sure.....	-	

2. All in all, do you think things in the nation are generally headed in the right direction, or do you feel that things are off on the wrong track?

	<u>7/93</u>	<u>6/93</u>	<u>4/9</u>	<u>3/93</u>	<u>1/93</u>	<u>12/9</u>	<u>5/92</u>	<u>9/91</u>	
			<u>3</u>			<u>2</u>			
Right direction.....	27	27	37	43	47	45	15	34	<b>[16]</b>
Wrong track.....	55	56	44	35	27	32	71	48	

Mixed (VOL).....	13		10	11	11	14	11	9	13
Not sure.....	5		7	8	11	12	12	5	5

3. I'm going to read you the names of several people and institutions who are active in public affairs. I'd like you to rate your feelings toward each one as either very positive, somewhat positive, neutral, somewhat negative, or very negative. If you don't know the name, please just say so.

	<u>Very Positive</u>	<u>Somewhat Positive</u>	<u>Neutral</u>	<u>Somewhat Negative</u>	<u>Very Negative</u>	<u>Don't Know Name/ Not Sure</u>	
<b>Bill Clinton</b>							<b>[17]</b>
July 1993.....	15	31	17	16	20	1	
June 1993.....	16	28	15	17	23	1	
April 1993.....	25	27	18	13	16	1	
March 1993.....	26	30	15	12	14	3	
January 1993.....	33	31	15	9	7	5	
December 1992.....	26	34	18	10	9	3	
May 1992.....	8	24	24	23	14	7	
<b>The U.S. Congress</b>							
July 1993.....	3	20	24	28	22	3	<b>[18]</b>
April 1993.....	5	21	25	27	18	4	
March 1993.....	3	22	24	28	17	6	
January 1993.....	4	20	27	28	16	5	
May 1992.....	2	16	20	31	27	4	
<b>Ross Perot</b>							<b>[19]</b>
July 1993.....	13	24	25	17	17	4	
June 1993.....	16	25	24	16	15	4	
April 1993.....	17	27	27	15	11	3	
March 1993.....	16	31	25	13	11	4	
January 1993.....	16	26	24	16	14	4	
December 1992.....	13	22	27	18	15	5	
May 1992.....	12	20	25	7	6	30	
<b>Bob Dole</b>							<b>[20]</b>
July 1993.....	10	22	25	14	13	16	
June 1993.....	15	25	24	12	10	14	
April 1993.....	13	25	26	11	7	18	
<b>Hillary Rodham Clinton</b>							<b>[21]</b>
July 1993.....	20	30	19	12	17	2	
June 1993.....	21	26	18	12	19	4	
April 1993.....	25	28	18	12	14	3	
March 1993.....	25	29	18	11	12	5	
January 1993.....	27	30	21	8	8	6	
December 1992.....	21	25	25	8	11	10	

- 4a. If the 1996 presidential election were held today, and the candidates were **(ROTATE NAMES)** Bob Dole, the Republican, Bill Clinton, the Democrat, and Ross Perot, the Independent, for whom would you vote?

	<u>7/93</u>	<u>6/93</u>	
Bob Dole.....	27	27	<b>[22]</b>
Bill Clinton.....	35	35	
Ross Perot.....	28	30	
None of these (VOL).....	3	5	
Not sure/refused.....	7	-	

4b. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job Bill Clinton is doing as president?

	<u>7/9</u>	<u>6/9</u>	<u>4/93</u>	<u>3/93</u>	<u>1/93</u>	
	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>				
Approve.....	45	41	52	57	51	<b>[23]</b>
Disapprove.....	45	50	34	26	16	
Not sure.....	10	9	14	17	33	

**(FORM A)**

4c. Do you generally approve or disapprove of the job Bill Clinton is doing in handling the economy?

	<u>7/93</u>	<u>6/93</u>	<u>4/93</u>	<u>3/93</u>	
Approve.....	40	33	45	52	<b>[24]</b>
Disapprove.....	51	56	40	28	
Not sure.....	9	11	15	20	

**(FORM A)**

4d. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job Bill Clinton is doing in handling our foreign policy?

	<u>7/93</u>	<u>6/93</u>	<u>4/93</u>	<u>3/93</u>	
Approve.....	50	38	47	47	<b>[25]</b>
Disapprove.....	36	43	30	22	
Not sure.....	14	19	23	31	

**(BOTH FORMS)**

5a. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job Congress is doing?

	<u>7/93</u>	<u>6/93</u>	<u>1/93</u>	<u>4/92 *</u>	<u>10/91 *</u>	<u>7/91 *</u>	<u>10/90 *</u>	
Approve.....	27	27	27	15	26	28	22	<b>[26]</b>
Disapprove.....	60	61	56	78	62	63	69	<b>]</b>
Not sure.....	13	12	17	7	12	9	9	

5b. Looking ahead to next year's election for U.S. Congress, do you feel your representative deserves to be reelected, or do you think it is time to give a new person a chance?

	<u>7/93</u>	<u>10/92 *</u>	<u>9/92 *</u>	<u>7/92 *</u>	<u>4/92 *</u>	<u>2/92 *</u>	<u>1/92 *</u>	<u>12/91 *</u>	<u>10/91 *</u>	<u>10/90 *</u>	<u>11/89 *</u>	
Reelect representative. .	30	31	31	27	33	37	42	35	40	39	41	
Give new person a chance.....	55	56	56	62	57	52	48	52	48	48	36	
Not sure.....	15	13	13	11	10	11	10	13	12	13	23	

5c. In next year's election for U.S. Congress, do you plan to vote for the Republican candidate or the Democratic candidate in your district?

	<u>7/93</u>	<u>11/92 *</u>	<u>10/92 *</u>	<u>9/92 *</u>	<u>8/92 *</u>	<u>7/92 *</u>	<u>10/90 *</u>	
Vote for the Republican candidate.....	31	35	29	32	29	31	33	<b>[28]</b>
Vote for the Democratic candidate.....	32	45	46	43	43	35	35	<b>]</b>
Depends (VOL).....	25	4	6	7	7	11	14	
Neither (VOL).....	3	1	2	1	2	3	2	
Not sure.....	9	15	17	17	19	20	16	

\* Asked only of registered voters.

**(FORM B)**

5d. Let me read you four possible outcomes to next year's congressional elections. Please tell me which one you would most like to see happen. **(READ CHOICES.)**

	<u>7/93</u>	<u>10/92*</u>	<u>10/91*</u>	<u>10/90*</u>	
More Democrats and fewer Republicans in Congress.....	18	20	17	20	<b>[29]</b>
More Republicans and fewer Democrats in Congress.....	24	18	20	18	
The number of Democrats and Republicans in Congress staying about the same, and a lot of incumbents winning.....	20	19	19	22	
The number of Democrats and Republicans in Congress staying about the same, but with a lot of incumbents losing.....	28	36	36	32	
Not sure.....	10	7	8	8	

\* Asked of one-half the respondents.

**(FORM A)**

5e. As you may know, one hundred ten new members were elected to the House of Representatives last November. Do you feel that Congress has heard and understood the messages of reform and ending gridlock, or do you feel that Congress has not heard and understood these messages?

Congress has heard and understood. .	2	<b>[30]</b>
	3	
Congress has not heard and understood.....	6	
	7	
Not sure.....	1	
	0	

**(BOTH FORMS)**

6a. Now, I'd like to read you a list of economic issues. As of right now, which one do you feel is the most important economic issue facing the country?

	<u>7/93</u>	<u>6/93</u>	<u>4/93</u>	<u>3/93</u>	<u>1/93</u>	<u>12/92</u>	<u>5/92</u>	<u>9/91</u>	
Inflation.....	8	6	4	7	7	6	7	11	<b>[31]</b>
Unemployment.....	37	40	44	44	44	46	46	37	
Interest rates.....	2	2	2	2	2	3	2	3	
The federal budget deficit.....	31	28	28	28	28	24	22	21	
Federal taxes.....	10	11	9	7	5	5	5	7	
The U.S. trade deficit.....	6	8	7	8	8	10	8	8	
All equally important (VOL).....	4	4	5	3	5	5	8	10	
None is important (VOL).....	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Not sure.....	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	3	

6b. During the next year, do you think the national economy will get better, get worse, or stay about the same?

	<u>7/93</u>	<u>6/93</u>	<u>4/93</u>	<u>3/93</u>	<u>1/93</u>	<u>12/92</u>	<u>5/92</u>	<u>9/91</u>	
Will get better.....	20	23	33	39	50	53	32	31	<b>[32]</b>
Will get worse.....	29	27	21	15	9	10	20	24	
Will stay about the same.....	48	47	44	43	39	35	45	40	
Not sure.....	3	3	2	3	2	2	3	5	

- 6c. If President Clinton's economic plan is passed, do you think the national economy will get better, get worse, or stay about the same during the next year?

Will get better.....	27	<b>[33]</b>
Will get worse.....	29	
Will stay about the same.....	39	
Not sure.....	5	

- 6d. Now, I would like to read you a list of qualities. For each item, I would like you to tell me how you would rate Bill Clinton in that area, using a scale from 1 to 5, on which a "5" means you would give him a very good rating, a "1" means you would give him a very poor rating, and a "3" means you would give him a mixed rating. You can use any number between 1 and 5, depending on how strongly you feel.

**(FOR EACH ITEM, ASK:)** When it comes to **(READ ITEM)**, how would you rate Bill Clinton, using a five-point scale, on which a "5" means a very good rating, a "1" means a very poor rating, and a "3" means a mixed rating?

	Very Poor <u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	Mixed <u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	Very Good <u>5</u>	Not Sure	
<b>Handling the effects of the Mississippi River floods</b>							
July 1993.....	6	8	36	26	21	3	<b>[34]</b>
<b>(FORM A)</b>							
<b>Working with Congress</b>							
July 1993.....	7	14	47	21	7	4	<b>[35]</b>
June 1993.....	12	16	45	18	5	4	
January 1993.....	2	5	31	32	24	6	
<b>(FORM A)</b>							
<b>The quality of people he has appointed</b>							<b>[36]</b>
July 1993.....	16	18	30	19	15	2	
June 1993.....	21	16	33	19	8	3	
January 1993.....	6	10	34	28	15	7	
<b>(FORM A)</b>							
<b>Handling international trade</b>							
July 1993.....	10	15	42	19	8	6	<b>[37]</b>
<b>(FORM B)</b>							
<b>Taking on difficult problems</b>							
July 1993.....	15	19	34	18	13	1	<b>[38]</b>
<b>Handling the issue of gays and lesbians serving in the military</b>							
July 1993.....	40	16	21	13	9	1	<b>[39]</b>
<b>(FORM B)</b>							
<b>Achieving his goals</b>							
July 1993.....	24	22	36	11	5	2	<b>[40]</b>
June 1993.....	28	24	26	13	7	2	
January 1993.....	5	7	34	29	22	3	
<b>Reducing the federal deficit</b>							
July 1993.....	26	19	32	12	7	4	<b>[41]</b>

**(FORM A)**

- 7a. In the second half of 1993, the Clinton Administration and Congress will not be able to address all the issues that need to be dealt with. The question now is, which issues need the most urgent attention and should be given the highest priority. I would like to read you a list of five issues and learn from you which ONE issue you would place as your highest priority.(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO CHOSE A TOP PRIORITY IN Q.7a.)

	Q.7a Top Priority		Q.7b. Second Priority	
Reforming the financing and rules for campaigns.....	2	[42]	3	[43]
Dealing with the budget deficit.....	23		26	
Dealing with jobs and the economy.....	47	<b>ASK Q.7b</b>	27	
Reforming the health-care system.....	23		31	
Dealing with the issue of foreign trade.....	3		10	
Other (VOL).....	-		-	
All equally (VOL).....	1	<b>SKIP TO Q.8</b>	-	
None of these (VOL).....	-		-	
Not sure.....	1		1	
No top priority.....	NA		2	

- 7b. Which would be your second highest priority? **(READ LIST AGAIN, EXCLUDING ANSWER GIVEN IN Q.7a. RECORD UNDER COLUMN Q.7b. ABOVE.)**

**(BOTH FORMS)**

8. Do you feel Bill Clinton, as president, has done a better job dealing with foreign policy or dealing with domestic policy issues?

Bill Clinton has done better on foreign policy.....	29	<b>[44]</b>
Bill Clinton has done better on domestic policy..	45	
Not sure.....	26	

- 9a. Do you favor or oppose President Clinton's economic program?

	<u>7/93</u>	<u>6/93</u>	<u>4/93</u>	
Favor President Clinton's economic program.....	43	39	50	<b>[45]</b>
Oppose President Clinton's economic program.....	39	44	35	
Don't know enough to say (VOL).....	10	10	-	
Not sure.....	8	7	15	

**(FORM B)**

- 9b. If President Clinton's deficit reduction plan passes, do you think it will be a step in the right direction or a step in the wrong direction?

Right direction.....	5	<b>[46]</b>
	4	
Wrong direction.....	3	
	2	
Depends (VOL).....	5	
Not sure.....	9	



**(FORM B)**

9c. If the Clinton budget is passed, do you think the deficit will go down a lot, go down a little, go down not at all, or go up?

Deficit will go down a lot.....	6	<b>[47]</b>
Deficit will go down a little.....	5	
	1	
Deficit will not go down at all.....	1	
	5	
Deficit will go up.....	2	
	3	
Not sure.....	5	

**(BOTH FORMS)**

9d. Do you believe Bill Clinton is a tax-and-spend, big-government kind of Democrat, or is he a different kind of Democrat?

	<u>7/93</u>	<u>6/93</u>	<u>3/93</u>	<u>10/92</u>	
Bill Clinton is a tax-and-spend, big government Democrat.....	38	42	29	35	<b>[48]</b>
Bill Clinton is a different kind of Democrat.....	54	47	60	56	
Not sure.....	8	11	11	9	

\* Asked only of registered voters.

**(FORM A)**

10a. Who do you think is more serious about reducing the budget deficit--President Clinton, or the Republicans in Congress?

	<u>7/93</u>	<u>6/93</u>	<u>4/93</u>	
President Clinton.....	48	47	52	<b>[49]</b>
Republicans in Congress.....	34	33	29	
Both equally (VOL).....	4	3	2	
Neither (VOL).....	9	10	10	
Not sure.....	5	7	7	

**(FORM B)**

10b. Recently, the White House said the budget deficit this year will be smaller than anticipated. Do you think this is a sign that the deficit is beginning to shrink, even without government action, or do you think the deficit will grow in the future unless the government does something about it?

Deficit will shrink, even without government action.....	1	<b>[50]</b>
	1	
Deficit will grow unless the government does something about it..	8	
	3	
Not sure.....	6	

**(BOTH FORMS)**

10c. Which type of budget plan would you prefer--**(ROTATE)** a major effort to reduce the deficit, including a tax increase, or a minor effort to reduce the deficit, not including a tax increase?

Major effort, including a tax increase.....	4	<b>[51]</b>
	3	
Minor effort, not including a tax increase.....	5	
	0	
Not sure.....	7	

**(FORM A)**

- 11a. Now I am going to read you some possible results of President Clinton's deficit reduction program. For each one I read, please tell me whether you think it is likely to happen or unlikely to happen if President Clinton's program passes. **(READ EACH ITEM, AND ASK:)** Do you think this is likely or unlikely to happen? **(START FROM THE BOTTOM ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

	<u>Likely To Happen</u>	<u>Unlikely To Happen</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>	
You will have to pay significantly more for gasoline, utilities, and other kinds of energy.....	81	16	3	<b>[52]</b>
Your personal income taxes will increase.....	82	15	3	<b>[53]</b>
Wealthy Americans will be paying a larger share of the tax burden.....	59	38	3	<b>[54]</b>
Small businesses will be forced to lay off workers.....	65	30	5	<b>[55]</b>
Interest rates will remain low.....	45	48	7	<b>[56]</b>
Jobs will be created and unemployment will drop.....	38	55	7	<b>[57]</b>

**(FORM B)**

- 11b. Let me ask you about a number of compromises that might have to be made in President Clinton's original deficit reduction program, in order to allow it to pass in Congress. For each one I read, please tell me whether you think the President should compromise and allow this change to be made in his program, or should not compromise and should stick to his original program.

**(FOR EACH ITEM, ASK:)** When it comes to **(READ ITEM)**, should the President compromise and allow this change to be made in his program, or not compromise and stick to his original program? **(START FROM THE BOTTOM ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

	<u>Should Compromis e</u>	<u>Should Not Compromis e</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>	
Reducing the deficit by only four-hundred billion dollars instead of the five-hundred billion in his original plan.....	61	33	6	<b>[58]</b>
Cutting back on programs to help the working poor and encourage investment in the inner cities.....	43	51	6	<b>[59]</b>

**(BOTH FORMS)**

- 11c. Should Congress compromise with the President, and allow taxes to be increased on Social Security recipients who are not poor, or should Congress not make that compromise?

Congress should compromise, allow tax increases on Social Security recipients.....	4 6	<b>[60]</b>
Congress should not compromise.....	4 9	
Not sure.....	5	

**(FORM A)**

- 12a. How much do you expect your family to be affected by the tax increases in President Clinton's deficit reduction program--a great deal, somewhat, or very little?

Affected a great deal by tax increases.....	2 7	<b>[61]</b>
Affected somewhat by tax increases..	5 3	
Affected very little by tax increases...	1 8	
Not sure.....	2	

**(FORM B)**

- 12b. How much do you expect your family to be affected by the cuts in federal spending programs in President Clinton's deficit reduction program--a great deal, somewhat, or very little?

Affected a great deal by program cuts.....	1	<b>[62]</b>
Affected somewhat by program cuts..	8	
Affected very little by program cuts...	4	
Not sure.....	1	
	3	
	7	
	4	

**(BOTH FORMS)**

- 12c. If the deficit reduction bill fails in Congress, who do you feel will be most at fault? **(READ CHOICES. ROTATE ORDER.)**

All of Congress.....	4	<b>[63]</b>
The Democrats in Congress.....	0	
The Republicans in Congress.....	1	
President Clinton.....	0	
All equally (VOL).....	1	
None (VOL).....	7	
Not sure.....	1	
	2	
	1	
	6	

**(FORM A)**

- 13a. Let me ask you about some things being considered by Congress as part of the final budget bill. As I mention each one, please tell me how effective you think it would be in helping to reduce the budget deficit. **(FOR EACH ITEM, ASK:)** How effective would **(READ ITEM)** be in helping to reduce the budget deficit--very effective, somewhat effective, or not effective? **(ROTATE ORDER OF ITEMS.)**

	<u>Very</u> <u>Effective</u>	<u>Somewha</u> <u>t</u> <u>Effective</u>	<u>Not</u> <u>Effective</u>	<u>Not</u> <u>Sur</u> <u>e</u>	
A four-point-three-cent increase in the tax on gasoline.....	19	58	20	3	<b>[64]</b>
A ten-cent increase in the tax on gasoline.....	34	39	23	4	<b>[65]</b>
Taxing most Social Security benefits for couples earning over forty thousand dollars per year.....	22	47	28	3	<b>[66]</b>
Increasing the tax rate from 31% to 36% for people in upper-income categories.....	41	41	16	2	<b>[67]</b>
Slowing the growth of Medicare and Medicaid spending through reduced payments to hospitals and physicians .....	26	37	33	4	<b>[68]</b>
Reducing the cost-of-living increases for military and civilian retirees of the government.....	20	46	30	4	<b>[69]</b>

**(FORM B)**

- 13b. Let me ask you about some things being considered by Congress as part of the final budget bill. As I mention each one, please tell me whether you favor or oppose it as part of an overall plan of spending cuts and tax increases to reduce the deficit. **(FOR EACH ITEM, ASK:)** Do you favor or oppose **(READ ITEM)** as part of an overall plan of spending cuts and tax increases to reduce the deficit? **(ROTATE ORDER OF ITEMS.)**

	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Oppose</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>	
A four-point-three-cent increase in the tax on gasoline.....	48	50	2	<b>[70]</b>
A ten-cent increase in the tax on gasoline.....	22	76	2	<b>[71]</b>
Taxing most Social Security benefits for couples earning over forty thousand dollars per year.....	51	44	5	<b>[72]</b>
Increasing the tax rate from 31% to 36% for people in upper-income categories.....	72	26	2	<b>[73]</b>
Slowing the growth of Medicare and Medicaid spending through reduced payments to hospitals and physicians .....	48	45	7	<b>[74]</b>
Reducing the cost-of-living increases for military and civilian retirees of the government.....	45	48	7	<b>[75]</b>

**(BOTH FORMS)**

- 13c. I would like to describe briefly the different approaches toward the budget that separate the House of Representatives and the Senate. Each approach would reduce the deficit by about the same amount. **(ROTATE ORDER.)**

The House version raises taxes more and cuts spending on programs like Medicare less. It includes an across-the-board tax on all forms of energy, would devote more money to social programs like food stamps, and includes tax credits to businesses that create jobs in poor areas and other tax incentives for business.

The Senate version raises taxes less and cuts spending on programs like Medicare more. It includes a gasoline tax rather than a broader energy tax, would devote less money to social programs like food stamps, and would give fewer tax credits to businesses that create jobs in poor areas and other tax incentives for business.

Which approach toward the budget would you prefer--**(ROTATE)** the House version or the Senate version?

Prefer House version.....	5	<b>[76]</b>
	3	
Prefer Senate version.....	3	
	8	
Not sure.....	9	

- 13d. In order to reduce the deficit, Congress and the President have to balance three elements: taxes, spending, and deficit reduction. If it came down to a compromise on these three elements, which would be your preference: **(READ ITEMS SLOWLY. ROTATE DESCRIPTIONS.)**

Increasing taxes more.....	10	<b>[77]</b>
Cutting spending more.....	61	
Reducing the deficit less than the President's goal of five-hundred billion dollars.....	24	
All equally (VOL).....	2	
Not sure.....	3	



- 14a. Now, I would like to read you two possible economic situations that might come to pass by 1996, and ask which one you think would be better. **(ROTATE DESCRIPTIONS.)**

**STATEMENT A:** The deficit is still large, but the economy is strong.

OR

**STATEMENT B:** The deficit has been significantly reduced, but the economy is flat.

Statement A/deficit is still large, but the economy is strong.....	66	<b>[78]</b>
Statement B/deficit has been significantly reduced, but the economy is flat.....	27	
Some of both (VOL).....	1	
Neither (VOL).....	2	
Not sure.....	4	

**(FORM B)**

- 14b. Which of the following statements comes closer to your view?

**STATEMENT A:** Business taxes should be raised to assure that companies are paying their fair share.

OR

**STATEMENT B:** Business taxes should not be raised, because it might hurt job creation.

Statement A/Business taxes should be raised.....	36	<b>[79]</b>
Statement B/Business taxes should not be raised.....	56	
Some of both (VOL).....	4	
Neither (VOL).....	1	
Not sure.....	3	

**(BOTH FORMS)**

- 14c. Some people say a tax increase is necessary to reduce the deficit. Others say a tax increase right now would hurt the economy and cost jobs. Do you think a tax increase is necessary to reduce the deficit or do you believe a tax increase right now would hurt the economy and cost jobs?

Tax increase necessary.....	2	<b>[80]</b>
	7	
Taxes increase would hurt economy...	6	
	5	
Some of both (VOL).....	5	
Not sure.....	3	

**(FORM A)**

- 14d. Would you rather see taxes raised on business or on upper-income individuals?

Taxes raised on business.....	1	<b>[81]</b>
	7	
Taxes raised on upper-income individuals.....	7	
	2	
Not sure.....	1	
	1	

**(BOTH FORMS)**

- 15a. Do you believe the Republicans in Congress are interested in offering a realistic alternative to President Clinton's economic plan, or do you think they are opposing Bill Clinton's plan for political reasons?

	<u>7/93</u>	<u>6/9</u>	<u>4/93</u>	<u>3/93</u>	
		<u>3</u>			
Republicans are interested in offering a realistic	24	27	28	25	<b>[82]</b>

alternative.....				
Republicans are opposing Clinton's plan for political	64	60	60	62
reasons.....				
Republicans have not offered an alternative (VOL).....	1	2	2	2
Not sure.....	11	11	10	11

- 15b. Do you believe Ross Perot is interested in offering a realistic alternative to President Clinton's economic plan, or do you think he is criticizing Bill Clinton's plan for political reasons?

	<u>7/93</u>	<u>6/93</u>	<u>4/93</u>	
Ross Perot is interested in offering a realistic alternative	39	42	50	<b>[83]</b>
Ross Perot is criticizing Clinton's plan for political reasons.....	46	45	36	
Ross Perot has not offered an alternative (VOL).....	3	2	3	
Not sure.....	12	11	11	

- 15c. If Ross Perot supported a congressional candidate in your area in next year's elections, would Ross Perot's support make you more likely to vote for that candidate, less likely, or would Ross Perot's support not make any difference to your vote?

	<u>7/93</u>	<u>6/93</u>	<u>4/93</u>	
More likely to vote for that candidate.....	23	18	18	<b>[84]</b>
Less likely to vote for that candidate.....	15	14	11	
No difference.....	60	65	68	
Not sure.....	2	3	3	

**(FORM B)**

- 15d. If Ross Perot were to drop out of politics, but his movement and the things he has advocated with his "United We Stand, America" group were to continue, would you have a great deal of interest, quite a bit of interest, just some interest, or very little interest in this movement without Ross Perot?

Great deal of interest.....	1	<b>[85]</b>
Quite a bit of interest.....	1	
Just some interest.....	4	
Very little interest.....	3	
Makes no difference whether Perot is in or out (VOL).....	5	
Not sure/refused.....	2	

**(BOTH FORMS)**

- 16a. The leaders of the Republican Party in Congress have announced that they will not support the efforts to pass the President's deficit reduction plan, because of the tax increases in the program. Do you approve or disapprove of this decision by the Republicans in Congress?

Approve of Republicans' decision....	4	<b>[86]</b>
Disapprove of Republicans' decision.....	5	
Not sure.....	7	

**(FORM A)**

- 16b. Let me describe two candidates who might run for Congress in next year's elections. **(ROTATE DESCRIPTIONS:)** One is a Democrat who supported President Clinton's deficit reduction program, and the other is a Republican who opposed President Clinton's deficit reduction program. Which candidate would you be more likely to support--**(ROTATE)** the Democrat who supported Clinton's program, or the Republican who opposed Clinton's program?

Democrat who supported Clinton program.....	4	<b>[87]</b>
Republican who opposed Clinton program.....	9	
Depends on candidate (VOL).....	0	
	5	



Not sure..... 6

**(FORM B)**

- 16c. Let me describe two candidates who might run for Congress in next year's elections. One is a Democrat who opposed President Clinton's deficit reduction program, and the other is a Republican who also opposed President Clinton's deficit reduction program. Which candidate would you be more likely to support--**(ROTATE)** the Democrat who opposed Clinton's program, or the Republican who opposed Clinton's program?

Democrat who opposed Clinton program	3	<b>[88]</b>
	9	
Republican who opposed Clinton	3	
program.....	3	
Depends on candidate (VOL).....	1	
	9	
Not sure.....	9	

**(BOTH FORMS)**

- 17a. Do you think the tax increases Congress is considering will go toward reducing the deficit, or do you think they will go to pay for more spending?

Will go toward reducing the	2	<b>[89]</b>
deficit.....	0	
Will go to pay for more	7	
spending.....	2	
Not sure.....	8	

**(FORM A)**

- 17b. Do you think that raising taxes on upper-income Americans will help the economy, hurt the economy, or have no effect on the economy?

Help the economy.....	4	<b>[90]</b>
	1	
Hurt the economy.....	1	
	9	
Have no effect on the economy.....	3	
	8	
Not sure.....	2	

**(FORM B)**

- 17c. Who do you think will pay the bigger share of new taxes that have to be raised under the Clinton economic plan--upper-income Americans or the middle class?

Upper-income Americans will pay the bigger	2	<b>[91]</b>
share.....	1	
Middle-class Americans will pay the bigger	7	
share.....	8	
Not sure.....	1	

**(FORM A)**

18. Do you favor or oppose giving tax breaks to companies that choose to locate--or are already located--in poor sections of cities and rural areas?

Favor tax breaks.....	7	<b>[92]</b>
	5	
Oppose tax breaks.....	1	
	9	
Not sure.....	6	

**(BOTH FORMS)**

- 19a. Do you favor or oppose allowing openly gay men and lesbian women to serve in the military?

	<u>7/93</u>	<u>6/93</u>	<u>4/93</u>	
Favor allowing openly gay men and lesbian women to	40	43	43	<b>[93]</b>

serve.....			
Oppose allowing openly gay men and lesbian women to serve.....	52	49	47
Not sure.....	8	8	10

- 19b. President Clinton recently announced a policy for how the military should deal with gay men and lesbian women serving in the armed forces. The policy says that soldiers should not be asked whether they are homosexual, and that gay soldiers will be allowed to serve as long as they keep their homosexuality secret and do not engage in any gay relationships at any time, both when they are on base and when they are on leave. The military will not go out of its way to investigate whether soldiers are gay. Do you think this policy is a good compromise, or not?

Policy is a good compromise.....	5	<b>[94]</b>
	6	
Policy is not a good compromise.....	4	
	0	
Not sure.....	4	

- 20a. Do you think that sexual abuse of children by priests in the Catholic church occurs very frequently, occurs somewhat frequently, does not occur very frequently, or does not occur at all?

Occurs very frequently.....	2	<b>[95]</b>
	2	
Occurs somewhat frequently.....	3	
	9	
Occurs not very frequently.....	2	
	9	
Does not occur.....	2	
Not sure.....	8	

- 20b. Do you feel that the Catholic church is or is not doing enough to deal with this issue?

Catholic church is doing enough.....	2	<b>[96]</b>
	1	
Catholic church is not doing enough. .	6	
	3	
Not sure.....	1	
	6	

21. How do you feel about the argument that condoms should be distributed in public schools to help prevent sexually transmitted diseases and unwanted pregnancies--do you agree strongly with this proposal, agree somewhat, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly with this proposal?

	<u>7/93</u>	<u>6/93</u>	
Agree strongly with condom distribution.....	37	30	<b>[97]</b>
Agree somewhat with condom distribution...	23	25	
Disagree somewhat with condom distribution.....	13	13	
Disagree strongly with condom distribution..	25	29	
Not sure.....	2	3	

**(FORM B)**

- 22a. How concerned are you that international terrorists will commit acts of violence in the United States--are you very concerned, somewhat concerned, or not concerned?

Very concerned about terrorist violence in U.S.....	4	<b>[98]</b>
	8	
Somewhat concerned about terrorist violence in U.S.....	4	
	3	
Not concerned about terrorist violence in U.S.....	9	
Not sure.....	-	

**(FORM B)**

22b. And how concerned are you that international terrorists will commit acts of violence near where you live or work--are you very concerned, somewhat concerned, or not concerned?

Very concerned about terrorist violence near home or work..	2	<b>[99]</b>
	2	
Somewhat concerned about terrorist violence near home or work.....	3	
	1	
Not concerned about terrorist violence near home or work...	4	
	7	
Not sure.....	-	

**(BOTH FORMS)**

23. In general, do you think President Clinton has been too tough on Iraq, not tough enough, or has handled Iraq about right?

President Clinton has been too tough on Iraq.....	3	<b>[100]</b>
President Clinton has not been tough enough on Iraq.....	3	
President Clinton has handled Iraq about right....	5	
Not sure.....	5	

- 24a. Have you heard or read anything about the trade framework agreed to by the Japanese and President Clinton on his recent trip to Tokyo? **(IF YES, ASK:)** From what you know, is this agreement a good deal for the U.S. or a bad deal for the U.S.?

Agreement is a good deal for U.S.....	1	<b>[101]</b>
Agreement is a bad deal for U.S.....	8	
Have not heard about the agreement.....	1	
Not sure.....	0	

- 24b. Do you favor or oppose the North American Free Trade Agreement with Mexico and Canada that eliminates nearly all restrictions on imports, exports, and business investment between the United States, Mexico, and Canada? If you feel you have not heard enough about this issue yet to have an opinion, please just say so.

	<u>7/93</u>	<u>4/93</u>	<u>1/93</u>	<u>10/92*</u>	<u>9/92*</u>	
Favor NAFTA.....	31	27	28	21	27	<b>[102]</b>
Oppose NAFTA.....	29	25	31	37	34	
Have not heard enough yet.....	36	44	36	38	35	
Not sure.....	4	4	5	4	4	

**(FORM B)**

- 24c. I would like to read two statements about the North American Free Trade Agreement, and ask which statement comes closer to your point of view. **(READ STATEMENTS. ROTATE ORDER.)**

**STATEMENT A:** The trade agreement will increase economic growth and create jobs in the U.S. because Mexico is a large country that will buy a great deal of U.S. products and services.

**STATEMENT B:** The trade agreement will cost the U.S. many high-paying manufacturing jobs, because U.S. companies will move their factories to Mexico where wages are much cheaper.

	<u>7/93</u>	<u>4/93</u>	
Statement A/agreement will create jobs....	24	25	<b>[103]</b>
Statement B/agreement will cost jobs.....	63	65	<b>]</b>
Some of both (VOL).....	4	3	
Neither (VOL).....	2	-	
Not sure.....	7	7	

**(FORM A)**

25. Do you approve or disapprove of President Clinton's decision to fire FBI Director William Sessions, or have you not thought much about this issue?

Approve of Clinton's decision.....	3	<b>[104]</b>
	2	
Disapprove of Clinton's decision.....	1	
	5	
Haven't thought much about it.....	4	
	6	
Not sure.....	7	

**(FORM B)**

- 26a. Which of the following people would you say has been the biggest success of the summer of 1993--**(ROTATE NAMES:)** Steven Spielberg, Barry Bonds, Tom Cruise, Bill Clinton, or Ruth Bader Ginsburg? **(NOTE: Bader RHYMES WITH RAIDER.)**

Steven Spielberg.....	2	<b>[105]</b>
	9	
Barry Bonds.....	1	
	2	
Tom Cruise.....	1	
	0	
Bill Clinton.....	1	
	3	
Ruth Bader Ginsburg.....	1	
	5	
All equally (VOL).....	-	
None (VOL).....	3	
Not sure.....	1	
	8	

**(BOTH FORMS.)**

- 26b. Lastly, if you had an opportunity to spend an hour in the White House with either Bill Clinton or Hillary Rodham Clinton, which one would you like to meet?

Bill Clinton.....	5	<b>[106]</b>
	8	
Hillary Rodham Clinton.....	2	
	9	
Neither (VOL).....	1	
	0	
Not sure.....	3	

**FACTUALS:** Now I am going to ask you a few questions for statistical purposes only.

F1a. Did you happen to vote in the 1992 presidential election?

**(IF "YES," ASK:)** For whom did you vote--George Bush, the Republican, Bill Clinton, the Democrat, or Ross Perot, the Independent?

Didn't vote.....	1	<b>[107]</b>
	7	
Voted for George Bush.....	2	
	5	
Voted for Bill Clinton.....	3	
	7	
Voted for Ross Perot.....	1	
	4	
Other candidate (VOL).....	-	
Too young (VOL).....	1	
Not sure/refused.....	6	

F1b. Based on what you now know, who would you have wanted to see win last year's election--George Bush, the Republican, Bill Clinton, the Democrat, or Ross Perot, the Independent? **(IF RESPONDENT SAYS "NONE" OR "NOT SURE," ASK:)** Well, which way would you lean if you had to make a choice?

	<u>7/93</u>	<u>6/93</u>	<u>4/93</u>	
George Bush.....	32	34	31	<b>[108]</b>
Bill Clinton.....	39	40	43	
Ross Perot.....	23	21	21	
None (VOL).....	2	3	2	
Not sure/refused.....	4	2	3	

F2. In politics today, do you generally consider yourself to be very liberal, somewhat liberal, moderate, somewhat conservative, very conservative, or haven't you thought much about it?

Very liberal.....	6	<b>[109]</b>
Somewhat liberal.....	1	
	9	
Moderate.....	2	
	7	
Somewhat conservative.....	2	
	3	
Very conservative.....	8	
No thoughts.....	1	
	5	
Not sure.....	2	

F3. And generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Democrat, a Republican, an Independent, or something else?

**(IF "DEMOCRAT" OR "REPUBLICAN," ASK:)** Would you call yourself a strong Democrat/Republican or a not very strong Democrat/Republican? **(IF "NOT SURE," CODE AS "NOT STRONG DEMOCRAT/REPUBLICAN.")**

**(IF "INDEPENDENT," ASK:)** Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party, closer to the Democratic Party, or do you think of yourself as strictly Independent? **(IF "NOT SURE," CODE AS "STRICTLY INDEPENDENT.")**

Strong Democrat.....	1	<b>[110]</b>
	6	
Not strong Democrat.....	1	
	5	
Independent/lean Democrat.....	9	



Strictly Independent.....	1
	8
Independent/lean Republican.....	9
Not strong Republican.....	1
	4
Strong Republican.....	1
	1
Other.....	6
Refused.....	1
Don't know/nothing.....	1

F4. What is the last grade you completed in school?

Grade school.....	2	<b>[111]</b>
Some high school.....	1	
	0	
High school graduate.....	3	
	3	
Some college, no degree.....	1	
	8	
Vocational training, 2-year college.....	8	
4-year college/Bachelor's degree.....	1	
	6	
Some postgraduate work, no degree.....	2	
2-3 years postgraduate work, Master's degree.....	8	
Doctoral degree/law degree.....	2	
Not sure.....	1	

F5. How old are you? (IF REFUSED, ASK:) Well, can you tell me which age group you belong to? Are you in the age group 18 to 24, 25 to 29, 30 to 34, 35 to 39, 40 to 44, 45 to 49, 50 to 54, 55 to 59, 60 to 64, or 65 and over?

18-24.....	1	45-49.....	9	<b>[112]</b>
	1			
25-29.....	1	50-54.....	7	
	1			
30-34.....	1	55-59.....	6	
	1			
35-39.....	1	60-64.....	5	
	2			
40-44.....	1	65 and over.....	17	
	0			
		Refused.....	1	

F6a. What type of work do you do?

Professional/manager.....	2	<b>[113]</b>
	4	
White collar worker.....	2	
	1	
Blue collar worker.....	2	
	2	
Farmer.....	-	
Student.....	4	
Homemaker.....	1	
	1	
Retired.....	1	
	4	
Unemployed.....	4	
Never worked/not sure.....	-	

(ASK OF ALL WOMEN)

F6b. Do you work outside the home or not?

Work outside the home.....	3	<b>[114]</b>
	0	
Do not work outside the home.....	2	
	1	
Not sure/refused.....	2	

F7a. Do you have any children who live at home with you? **(IF HAVE CHILDREN AT HOME, ASK:)**  
 How old are your children? **(IF DECLINE TO GIVE AGES, ASK:)** Are your children under age 6, age 6 to 11, age 12 to 15, age 16 to 18, or over age 18? **(ACCEPT MULTIPLE RESPONSES.)**

<b><u>Yes, Have Children at Home</u></b>	<b><u>4</u></b>	<b>[115]</b>
(net).....	<b><u>5</u></b>	
Under age 6.....	1	>
	7	
Age 6 to 11.....	1	
	7	
Age 12-15.....	1	
	3	
Age 16-18.....	8	
Over age 18.....	1	
	0	
<b><u>No, Do Not Have Children At</u></b>	<b><u>5</u></b>	
<b><u>Home</u></b> .....	<b><u>4</u></b>	
<b><u>Not Sure/Refused</u></b> .....	<b><u>1</u></b>	

F8. In what religion were you brought up?

Protestant.....	5	<b>[116]</b>
	2	
Catholic.....	2	
	9	
Jewish.....	3	
Other.....	1	
	1	
None.....	4	
Not sure/refused.....	1	

F9. Are you white, black, Hispanic, Asian, or something else?

White.....	81	<b>[117]</b>
Black.....	11	
Hispanic.....	5	
Asian.....	1	
Other.....	1	
Not sure/refused.....	1	

F10. If you added together the yearly income of all the members of your family who were living at home last year, would the total be less than \$10,000, between \$10,000 and \$20,000, between \$20,000 and \$30,000, between \$30,000 and \$40,000, between \$40,000 and \$50,000, between \$50,000 and \$75,000, or would the total be more than that?

Less than \$10,000.....	8	<b>[118]</b>
Between \$10,000 and \$20,000.....	1	
	5	
Between \$20,000 and \$30,000.....	1	
	7	
Between \$30,000 and \$40,000.....	1	
	6	
Between \$40,000 and \$50,000.....	1	
	3	
Between \$50,000 and \$75,000.....	1	
	4	
More than \$75,000.....	1	
	1	
Not sure/refused.....	6	